/857 cont./

compulsory position became almost unbearable and I did not know what else to do, I told my sponsor that I had to relieve myself. He nodded permission. An hour later I repeated my request. Outside I stretched my twisted limbs to my heart's desire each time, but quickly returned to the Great Hut. When, however, after a considerable time I repeated the same request, I was point-blank denied permission with a light shake of the head, and Chris merely said: "You don't have to relieve yourself that often!" The candidate who has been busy at something in the Great Hut or outside must return to his seat without delay and resume the squatting position exactly as before.

2. Meager Nourishment: For every candidate his stay in the Great Hut is an uninterrupted hunger trial. During the first four or six days he is given only a single mussel in the late afternoon and, at the same time, a good swallow of water. He is served both these things by his /858/ sponsor. The uǐwǯala sucks the water out of the mussel shell with a small tube-shaped bird bone which the sponsor holds in one hand while he places his other hand on the throat of his protégé and presses slightly, as though to prevent the latter from drinking too much. The sponsor himself makes the small bone tube, ʔembalim, hands it to his protégé each time he sucks water, and leaves him this article as a souvenir at the end of the čiʔéxaw celebration. After the first few days the uǐwǯala gets a larger amount of food, even twice a day, at the same time that food is brought to the adults from the cookhut. It is the sponsor's duty to determine the amount that he wants the uǐwǯala to have each time. He takes into consideration the candidate's physical condition, but arranges everything so that he really suffers hunger. Later, drinking water is permitted several times a day, and the candidate asks his sponsor for it each time.

The young people are very much tormented by hunger, but in spite of it, they are made to eat very slowly. When small bits are distributed, perhaps berries and fungi gathered by the girls or roasted pieces of meat from a bird killed by the boys, the uǐwǯala may eat only after all the adults have been served. It is the duty of the sponsor to watch over these details. With all the strictness, however, he will not let matters go so far as to have his protégé collapse from exhaustion and become incapable

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of going on with the rest of the Kina celebration.

In front of the candidates, adults do not express themselves explicitly about the purpose of this harsh hunger trial. Occasionally the leader or the sponsor will make a remark, as though parenthetically: "Everyone must have learned to get along with little food! For it happens sometimes that a whole family will get into a situation of great distress." Previously I had learned another version from Alfredo: "When the ulwáia are worn down with hunger, they are more receptive to the teachings, and the admonitions will go deeper!" There is always someone who accompanies the candidates when they go outside the Great Hut, so that they will not, on their own, make up for their many deprivations and perhaps eat a great deal.

3. Little Sleep. Although we are justified in speaking of a program for the Kina celebration, this does not mean a definite division into hours. The length of time for this or that exercise is much too dependent on the prevailing mood at the moment, and no obligatory hour strikes for those fortunate Fuegians, either in their daily life or in this secret celebration.

If there is no fixed time for the adult participants to go to bed, even less is there such for the ulwáia. There is, of course, considerable restriction, but it is the task of the sponsor to carry this out in detail. He watches the physical condition of his protégé, just as in the matter of food, and lets /859/ this guide his decision. Even so, the night's sleep at the beginning of the Kina lasts only five hours at most, which is obviously too little for young people. Of course the conscious intent is to weaken them.

In the evening, as soon as all the games and dances have ceased, the adults get ready to go to sleep. Not until two or three hours later will each sponsor independently grant his protégé permission to lie down also. By that time it is usually midnight. Between five and six o'clock in the morning the sponsor shakes the weary sleeper vigorously and merely says: "Sit up!" He has no choice but to obey. Half asleep he now squats in his place until it is light and the general cleaning in the Great Hut begins (279).

279. In more recent times the Yamana in the Great Hut also adhere to their practice of washing

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/1352 cont./ one of these little sticks in each hand. He grasps it in his closed fist which rests on the ground. Afterwards he inserts the sticks into the hut wall where they are kept until used again. The sponsor often rubs them with dry imi powder (Fig. 97) (300).

Fig. 97. Kina Sticks.

300. These two short little sticks have their counterpart in the longer dance staff which each participant of the youth initiation holds in his hand (p. 713).

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If it has not been possible to fetch the selected candidates to the Great Hut on the first day, they are all brought there the second day after the start of the celebration. Here they immediately meet a "spirit," followed by the first important explanations (p. 1235). The candidates are usually given seats opposite the wide entrance. When they have recovered from their terrible fright and calmed down somewhat after the first spirit appearance, each of the sponsors shows his protégé the unnatural position of the body which he is more or less strictly obliged to maintain throughout the entire affair. A piece of leather is spread out over the litter of grass and the uwala crouches on it with his legs under him, the upper part of his body bent slightly forward, his arms folded on his chest, and his eyes fixed on the ground. He is supposed to remain this way as motionless as possible /1353/ and, of course, absolutely silent, paying no attention to the others. He may neither laugh out loud nor manifest his satisfaction over the jolly doings of the men, neither lean against the hut wall nor relax in a slouch, neither scratch any part of his body nor repulse annoying insects. He must also endure,

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X 575 576 785 without moving, the discomfort of a strong draft or smoke from the hut fire. It is only when the fire temporarily gives off too much heat that the sponsor builds a low protective screen of twigs and brush between the candidate and the fire. During the first few days the ulwala observe these requirements with painstaking exactness, but after that neither the sponsor nor the leader prevents them from raising their eyes and looking directly at the various spirit appearances or even smiling when the men laugh about some successful deception. The initial strictness is considerably relaxed, and finally the individual makes himself quite comfortable. He is never given the complete freedom of movement which the other participants enjoy, however. After a few days an ulwala may slip into a negligent posture and let his eyes roam about practically unrestrained, but in any case he must constantly remain crouched in his place.

X 575 785 While some of the men stretch out comfortably in their sleeping places during the day, the candidate must remain upright. The program itself curtails his sleep at night, for when the spirit appearances have ended and the men have ceased their subsequent conversation, midnight is usually already past. It is only after the rest of the men have wrapped themselves in their blankets and deep silence has descended on the Great Hut -- which is supposed to announce to the women outside that all the spirits have departed -- that each sponsor gives his protégé permission in so many words to go to sleep. The ulwala may stretch out and make himself comfortable insofar as the limited space in the Great Hut permits, but as soon as the gray dawn appears in the eastern sky, he is again awakened by a call or an unmerciful nudge from his sponsor. Immediately the candidate sits up and takes the required position. He rubs his sleepy eyes with his hand and hastily arranges his hair. This completes his morning toilet. The constant curtailment of sleep makes the candidate weary and weak.

The short daily rations also contribute to this weakness. The ulwala is never permitted free access to the meat which on some days is brought into the Great Hut in excess. The sponsor himself always gives it to him as he sees fit. As a rule he gives him /1354/ a larger piece of meat in the morning or about 10

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mussels and at the same time as much water as the shell of a Volute snail will hold. In the late afternoon, before the spirit scenes begin, he again gives his pentgf a few bites. If at one time or another during the day the candidate is again thirsty, he may ask for water and it is given to him, but he does not get more than the small quantities of meat mentioned. The men present repeatedly express their satisfaction over the fact that the ulwala is visibly wasting away and has become physically weak. They believe that in this condition he is more receptive to the teachings and the seriousness of the impressions he receives will be more deeply engraved (301).

301. For the same purpose the candidates in the youth initiation become weak from hunger and are more receptive to the teachings (p. 109).

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At the request of the leader the candidates are delegated to do the necessary work in the Great Hut. The boys are then always under the supervision of the sponsor or a group of younger men. Considerable piles of firewood are required, which must sometimes be brought from a distance. The necessary amounts of meat are procured on joint hunting expeditions. In all this the men see to it that the candidates exert themselves far beyond their strength and become exceedingly weary. Other chores are easier. Every morning and at night after the spirit appearances, they must sweep the Great Hut, rearrange the fire, carefully scrape off all the spattered color, and smooth out many pieces of skin. Besides these tasks, one man or another will call upon an ulwala for small personal services when he is devoting himself to manual work or fixing a weapon. Such tasks and the long walks are obviously advantageous and desirable for the candidates. The dull, nearly motionless crouching on the same spot exhausts them far more than a strenuous hunt with plenty of physical exercise. The following rule is conscientiously carried out as soon as the ulwala have been introduced. They may go in and out of the Great Hut only on the side that lies north of the fire. Everyone can easily conform to this duty since the broad entrance, as is

/1604 cont./

Our Yamana, as a matter of principle, forgo eating their fill on some occasions, which are well known. They content themselves with as little nourishment as possible in the Hiyna house. On this occasion the mussel is regarded as the most suitable food for insuring that the old people and the apprentices will reach their goal. They all eat but once a day, soon after getting up. The uhuhiyaamuf are given three mussels at the most; all the other participants impose the same restriction upon themselves, and sometimes a person takes nothing all day. In individual cases the pupil is permitted to eat a fish instead of a mussel, but he may eat only the tail end. He destroys the front end, along with the head, in the fire. A little tumbago powder (328) is sprinkled on each bite that the apprentice eats.

328. No one could tell me the reason for these strange rules.

All the food is cooked in the Great Hut itself, and the remnants are immediately destroyed in the fire. If the pupil is making obvious progress, the three mussels a day are cut down first to two, later even to one for the duration of the affair. This is done so that he will steadily and quickly perfect himself. He is given water which he sucks in limited quantities through the well-known Ambelim, a thin hollow bone (p. 309) made out of a large Mytilus shell, which is handed to him by a yihaamuf. Every participant knows, and the apprentices are repeatedly told by the leader, that the less food and drink a person has, the more promptly his dreams will come to him; the more vivid his intercourse will be with the spirits, and the more capable the older yihaamuf will be for his accomplishments. If a uhuhiyaamuf should give in to the pangs of hunger and secretly eat something, for instance, when he is gathering wood in the forest, then it is said that the yehiyut will tell the yihaamuf of this infraction. Thereupon one of them will call the chap to account: "We know that you have secretly eaten outside the Hiyna hut!" /1605/ Punishment does not follow, however, for the boy is sufficiently intimidated and accepts the rebuke without contradiction. He has learned his lesson forever.

Body painting is prescribed for the actual participants, the yihaamuf and the uhuhiyaamuf. All of them are completely naked

L: Granada--1827 S-2 (1810-1854) 1937 Nos Tahgan Nat

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during the entire time that they remain in the hut. To paint themselves, each one scrapes fine powder from a lump of lime or clay with his incisors and mixes it with saliva by chewing it. He spits this on the palm of his hand and rubs it over his whole body. Before the mixture dries another man helps him complete the design. This man puts his fingertips close together and with his nails scratches vertical grooves into the pigment from the forehead to the ankles, that is, down the whole length of the body. These grooves later give the impression of dark lines that have been drawn in the pigment. Some men do not bother to use more than one finger to scratch in several grooves.[1] On some days the leader also reaches for lime powder, a signal that all the participants are likewise to paint themselves red and to put the many lines on this background. Some of the men merely rub the white or red powder into the body, most of them smear a good deal of the sticky substance on their heads. Everyone ties the apawara around his forehead, the feather ornament reserved exclusively for the ohkamá, not the strip of skin with down feathers known as kayaxti (p. 718). Everyone renews this body painting every day, usually in the afternoon when they all do it at once. The persons who are in the hut as helpers or spectators and all the women ohkamá must paint their faces and the upper part of their bodies white. They must also draw a finger-thick red line from the corners of the mouth to the ear lobes. No one may remain in the ihima house without being painted.

Each actual participant is assigned a definite seat at the very beginning of the celebration. The seats are divided off on either side by a short stick. Everyone stretches his legs out in front of him. His upright torso is pressed so close to the hut framework that the back of his head touches it. Behind their necks they place a short, thick piece of soft, fungus-like wood known as kaiakáha, as though it were a pillow. The neck presses it against the hut wall and thus it remains in position. Everyone must remain seated, still and motionless. His arms fall loosely on either side of his body. In the long run this position is a great strain and becomes indescribable agony. A person is permitted, however, to draw his feet up to his rump in a squatting position. In exceptional cases he may also sit for a

X 156 /1405 cont./
• 785 time with his legs crossed under him, at the same time holding
516 his arms crossed over his chest. The impression that the circle of motionless, painted white figures made upon me was indescribably strange.

X 156 It has been mentioned several times that very little sleep
785 is permitted for the participants, and it comes during the four or
513 five /1406/ hours before daybreak. As ancient custom recommends, the qualified yékamuš sleep in the sitting position described above. Some of them draw their legs up slightly and slide back a little so that the bent back touches the hut wall while the neck still holds up the piece of wood. A person who can no longer do this may lie on one side and stretch his legs a bit, but he absolutely must have the piece of wood under his neck. The yeſáčel live in the old trees from which this šalalakína wood is taken; thus, the person who keeps the piece of wood behind his neck retains his yeſáčel-xéola even during sleep. The posture indicated induces many lively dreams during sleep. The sensitivity and irritability of the nerves are increased to the limit by the fact that, after the strain of the uncomfortable sitting position, even sleep at night is considerably curtailed; this is the goal sought by this means and by the limited diet and prolonged silence.

X 156 According to Yamana belief, a full-fledged yékamuš merely seems to have the same type of body as the ordinary human
827 being (p. 1308). The transformation of the body begins here in the lóima-yékamuš for those uš'alé'xamuš who have experienced a real call. First the entire face is affected. After the medicine-man school has continued for a few days each apprentice, according to instructions given by experienced yékamuš, begins the following process which he may not interrupt. He takes a ball of fine wood shavings from the lemon-yellow wood of Berberis ilicifolia (it is known as čílěr), dips it into the white túmarápu powder and rubs his cheeks with it. For about half an hour his hand moves slowly with scarcely perceptible pressure; then he stops for the same length of time and begins anew. Each apprentice carries on these motions by himself; he does it for a shorter or longer time, but he must continue the process all day long. Its purpose is to make a new, softer, more delicate skin appear in place of his actual skin. When, after continuous